"Off the Map: Women, Medicine and Experiential Knowledge in Early Modern France and England"

Description of Workshop

This workshop asks participants to focus on the ways texts reveal experiential knowledge – knowledge often so common or familiar that it does not quite need to be recorded or explained. As historians and literary scholars of early modern France and England, we are most interested in this phenomenon in medical texts written or used by women – as midwives, family health care providers, or public health officers. But as the goal of this workshop is to explore methodologies for recognizing and articulating common knowledge more broadly, we welcome people seeking to explicate women’s expertise in other subfields and languages.

This workshop examines traces of ephemeral experience that show up in relief in texts, even as it demonstrates that mapping women’s experiential knowledge is tricky territory. Based in material existence, bodily memory and oral culture, experiential knowledge is defined by those things commonly known by people through deep familiarity and thus has little need to be recorded. An herbal, for example, might describe some properties of thyme that are "so commonly known" that the author need not take up space providing that information. While sometimes unelaborated, such descriptions indicate a meaningful exchange of information between the author and his or her readers, yet can remain opaque to us. Those of us who have looked at early modern recipes, for example, might be familiar with this phenomenon: crucial aspects of the recipes are often left unstated or only vaguely gestured toward. In this workshop, we will not only discuss the details of this kind of trace knowledge, but more importantly, endeavor to theorize what we can learn from what we can’t fully know about women’s experiential knowledge.

Women’s expertise and authority in medicine particularly allows for fruitful exploration of this issue. In the last couple of decades, scholars have shown just how thoroughly women participated in the medical marketplace. Building on this research, we aim to open wider our understanding of women’s expertise in what has traditionally been called ‘household medicine’ and to consider more carefully the knowledge and skills of midwives, domestic medical practitioners, and the women who worked for their parishes in a public health capacity (determining cause of death for vital statistics). With perhaps the exception of midwives, women’s domestic medical knowledge – diagnosing, dispensing medicine, surgical abilities – has been devalued without really considering what that knowledge is, or what contributions it may have made to other areas of medicine. Even the history of midwifery has tended to privilege qualifications, networks, and the ‘big picture’ (particularly as women were displaced from the role). Our focus here is: what kinds of medical knowledge did women have and how can we know? What we are trying to map in our workshop, then, includes both establishing the trace evidence of women’s medical practice and theorizing further the methods by which we can better articulate experiential knowledge and how it reveals itself in texts.
We envision beginning the workshop by briefly introducing our topic through three case studies: an exemplary moment in the medical writings of French midwife Louise Bourgeois; a representative entry in an herbal often owned by female practitioners; and a recipe for "The Great Palsy Water" in "My Lady Rennelagh's Choice Receipts." We will also discuss an example of non-narrative knowledge-making - a bill of mortality detailing information collected by women public health officers for their parishes. The remainder of the session will be open discussion, and will consider the following key questions:

- What markers of extra-textual knowledge might be found in texts?
- How else might embodied knowledge, or common knowledge, be represented?
- What do these primary texts suggest about the relationship between women and the natural world? And what does this relationship suggest about their knowledge base and/or knowledge-making practices?
- *Are* the uses of plants or medical terms in these texts what we would call "gendered"? If so, what makes them so?
- Pamela Smith ends her ground-breaking theoretical work centered on visual artists by invoking the "old women" and "herbalists" cited as sources for early botanists, saying that this "story" has yet to be written. Unlike Smith's subjects, however, these artisans have not left artworks, were likely illiterate, and transmitted their knowledge orally. How do we apply Smith's theoretical model with materials that are much more fragmentary and with artifacts in which the artisan is often anonymous? How do we tell this story?

Questions specifically for the Louise Bourgeois reading:

- What is interesting to you about the way Bourgeois presents her experiential knowledge in the preface to the reader?
- What do the other excerpts reveal about the way women not only shared but concealed experiential medical knowledge in early seventeenth-century Paris? How does Bourgeois see herself in relation to other women and the sharing (or not) of medical knowledge?
- How does Bourgeois integrate her own embodied knowledge into her work, and what is significant about the fact that she does this?
List of Readings for the Workshop (attached, in order)

5 pages: from Louise Bourgeois, Various Observations Concerning Sterility, Miscarriages, Fertility, Birthing, and Diseases of Women and Newborn Children (1626). To be published by the Toronto Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, “The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe” series. Translated by Stephanie O’Hara; Edited by Alison Klairmont Lingo.


Selection 1: pages 8-10, Volume 1, 1626 edition, "To the Reader"
Selection 2: pages 134-143, Volume 1, 1626 edition, chapter XXIII
Selection 3: pages 209-211, Volume 1, 1626 edition, chapter XLVI.
  Note: page 209 is incorrectly numbered as page 109 in the French original.
  The selection begins with the following sentence on that page: "le diray a ce propos que les enfans se tournêt..."
Selection 4: pages 72-74, Volume 2, 1626 edition, section beginning "Observation admirable d’un petit enfant..."

1 page: from Sloane 1367—“My Lady Rennelaghs Choice Receipts: as also Some of Capt Willis who valued them above gold.” -- Katherine Boyle Ranelagh’s receipts collection: [f. 7v-9]: The Great Palsy Water ^ Lavendar Cordial

3 pages: Entries for “Thyme” and “Hyssop” from John Gerard's Herbal (1597)

1 page: "Diseases and Casualties This Week" (weekly bill of mortality, 1665)

2 pages: Pamela H. Smith, from the conclusion to The Body of the Artisan (Chicago, 2004), 240-41.

Additional Suggested Readings


Selection 1

TO THE READER.¹

Good reader, this child of my mind, this creature of the merits of the greatest Queen that Heaven has sent, does not display itself to you in order to be admired for the vanity of its language, as others are wont to do. It tells you, as one of its true maxims, that it has no Ariadne’s thread to lead you, with sweetly false pleasure, among the contours of a labyrinth of words.² Therefore I have given it no ornament but truth, no reason but that of experience; no witness but that of all our sex, which knows in itself what I write, and will never call my pen false. This is why I confidently cross the barriers of all apprehension, and expose this work to all the strange things that envy, the mother of slander and the major enemy of all praiseworthy actions, may say. I reassure myself that when you recall the nature of this subject, you will praise my goal, and you will admit with me that it is in no way a desire to show off and be admired, but rather to show you that gently forced by my natural inclination, which is to render service to everyone, I let myself be conquered by pity acquired through my own experience.

The birth of this book, then, a sample of my practical experience, is a school where Medicine, married to a midwife’s industry, teaches everyone the admirable effects of its divinity. Prescriptions that have had excellent results can be found in this book, and are openly published to help those whose lack of money or chance does not allow them access to a physician.³ I do not wish to importune you any further, good reader, and I beg you to remember that this woman, in order to serve all other women, shows you, as in a mirror, things in which there is as much truth as there is lack of artifice in her speech; she begs you to receive this book with as much affection as she desires that all who will use it may say: In an artlessly laid-out garden of the art of midwifery, I recovered the precious flower of my health. I beg you again to receive kindly the fruit of this first printing, a fruit which it was necessary to harvest before its maturity, before chance and my usual obligations might have given me more time to examine it; it was also as necessary to satisfy the printer’s haste as to shut the mouth of the slanderer who weighs my ability against the weight of his judgment; I promise you, if you wish it, to repair this fault in a less-hastily reviewed second edition. Adieu.

¹ See “Editor’s Introduction,” on Bourgeois’s use of the Preface to establish her right to publish and to speak as an “other voice” in a truthful, credible manner for the public good.
² According to the myth to which “Ariadne’s thread” refers, the city of Athens, bound by the terms of a treaty, periodically sent seven young men and seven young women to the city of Crete to be sacrificed to the monstrous Minotaur, a half-human, half-bull, who was kept in a labyrinth. The Cretan princess Ariadne fell in love with the Athenian Theseus and gave him a ball of string and a sword to help him find his way around the labyrinth and kill the Minotaur. For more on this myth and subsequent references to classical mythology, see Pierre Grimal, The Dictionary of Classical Mythology, tr. A.R. Maxwell-Hyslop. Oxford: Blackwell, 1985. –Trans.
Selection 2 [from Book 1, Ch. XXIII]

Here I will describe all the remedies that dry up the milk so that each woman who has her particular remedy can see its effects. This is because not all remedies are appropriate. In Paris, among those nurses looking after women who have given birth, there are many who have only one remedy, which they use for all sorts of women, rather like using one kind of saddle for all kinds of horses. This is a very unacceptable situation, which creates both immediate and long-term problems, as [135] I will explain. When discussing the nature of remedies, nurses make a point of not revealing their remedy, which they keep quite secret. As a result, most of them do not know what they are doing, and even worse, they have no desire to learn, because they say that no remedy is as good as theirs. If a midwife asks the nurse questions after she leaves, the nurse will begin to hurry her away and say that it’s none of her business because everyone should do their particular duty. She will say that once the woman has been delivered, the midwife has nothing more to do. I beg these nurses to know what it means to be a good nurse before becoming a minimally qualified midwife. Proof of what I say can be found in letters licensing midwives.

I have often observed women apply a water that is sent for from Angers, [136] which is very suitable for drying up the milk. I have never seen any ill effects in the breasts of those women who used this remedy. The only inconvenience is that the nipples must be uncovered twice a day in order to apply cloths that have been moistened with lukewarm water. It is also thought that this remedy softens and wrinkles the skin. Simples of both a hot and a cold nature are used to make the remedy, such that the water is quite temperate and can be used safely on women with different kinds of constitutions.

Combine equal quantities of fresh sage, periwinkle, smallage, and hemlock sap; distill in an alembic. It will last up to a year.

I have a remedy that I willingly use because it is also temperate and can do no harm. On the contrary, it works [137] very well. Take a pint of fresh wax, a pint of ordinary raw honey, an ounce of rose oil, an ounce of fresh butter, sage juice, and chervil juice. Make an ointment of these ingredients, and spread it on rounds of fine hemp that has been carefully pierced with little holes. Make a liniment of rose oil and vinegar to apply to the breasts, and then warmly place the rounds over them, covering them with warm cloths. Do not remove the cloths for a week unless they double in size. In that case, add another warm cloth after reappling liniment, and finish out the week.

It is quite dangerous for women to begin nursing after giving birth when their child’s nursing causes sore nipples or [138] when it cannot withstand being weaned. For once the child has begun to nurse, this draws humors to the breasts, which often causes suppurations all over. In order to prevent this, once a woman has resolved to stop nursing, she should make a liniment of rose oil and vinegar to be applied to the breasts. Then take a red cabbage leaf, with the stem cut out, and let it soften over the fire.

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4 Bourgeois’s chapter on how to dry up a mother’s milk supply addresses the needs of wealthy and aristocratic women who rarely nursed their children—for a variety of reasons, among them the belief that sexual intercourse would pollute a nursing mother’s milk and thereby poison the child. See Didier Lett and Marie-France Morel, Une histoire de l’allaitement (Paris: La Martinière, 2006), 108–114 and Marie-France Morel, “Théories et pratiques de l’allaitement en France au XVIIIe siècle,” Annales de Démographie Historique (1976): 393–427.

5 This does not mean “nurse” in the modern sense. The French word used here is garde d’accouchée, someone who takes care of a woman after her delivery. — Trans.

6 Bourgeois may have been influenced by Paracelsian medicine in her use of an alembic or still, even though she distilled herbs, not metals. See Alan Debus, The French Paracelsians: The Chemical Challenge to Medical and Scientific Tradition in Early Modern France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Her husband’s mentor, Ambroise Paré, also discusses the use of stills and distillation in his writings. See Ambroise Paré, Œuvres complètes III, ed. J.-F. Malgaigne (Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1841), 614–633.
cover it well with *Mel Rosatum*. Do this twice a day. I can confirm that when this remedy is used early on, although there may be redness or hardness, there will be no suppurations.

If by chance remedies have not been used in a timely manner, this remedy will not suffice. Take agrimony, mallow wort, marsh-mallow, and groundsel. Cook it all in water in a clean pot [139] until it is like a cataplasm. Then add an eighth of a pound of fat from a male pig with an equal amount of May-butter, and let it all combine, heating well. While the mixture is still warm, spread it on some oakum, and apply it twice a day, covering with very warm cloths. In three days, it will be finished or ready to burst. This is the best remedy possible. I experimented on myself before allowing myself to reach this state when I had a large bruise on one nipple. Because of this cataplasm, I was rid of my illness in ten days, as if I had been suppurating rather than beginning to suppurate. In truth, I prefer to use a lancet rather than letting the suppuration re-form.²

This is the ointment that women with suppuration in the breasts should use, without changing it until [140] they are completely healed, which will not be long if they use this remedy. Take a half a pound of lard and melt it; add a pint of fresh wax and two ounces of resin. Make an ointment of all this, from which you will make a plaster to be applied when the nipple has suppurated. Apply the ointment to a covering of soft linen that you will put over the cataplasm. Change the dressings twice daily until the woman is completely healed.

Some nurses make a kind of cloth rounds, with crudely made holes into which they put a bit of cotton, powdered sage, cork, coarse salt, and powdered myrtle. This is dangerous for women with frail lungs subject to congestion, because it heats up this part of the body. The nipple is so close to the lung that the smallest amount of cold or heat that [141] one receives is communicated to the other. There is another negative aspect to this remedy, which is that it is hard and irritates the nipple. This is almost always irreparable, as I saw happen to an honorable gentlewoman, to my great regret. Her nurse had applied this remedy, which, as I said, irritated her nipple. At the beginning, there was only a small red growth, about the size of a kidney bean, which no remedy could remove, since it had been ignored from the start. She went on to have three more children, and although the remedy was changed, her original problem remained and grew, rather than diminishing in size.

During her last pregnancy, it spread all over her side and seemed to be a very malignant cancer. Having consulted good physicians and having been treated by them without seeing any improvement, she put herself into the hands of a charlatan who promised to heal her as [142] soon as she had given birth. All the while, he promised that he would prevent the growth from increasing in size. By giving her this hope, he was able to keep getting money out of her. His treatment consisted of applying lint in the shape of a cross, while muttering something. The fellow knew quite well that as soon as her milk came in, she would die, as she did, because the illness had reached its limit, and she had not slept for more than three months. The good gentlewoman always claimed that her illness was a result of the bruise caused by her nurse’s remedy. I well know that cancer happens for other reasons, such as malignant humors, but it also happens in most people due to irritation, such as squeezing the breast, lying down on it, or by any careless blow to the upper body that one fails to remedy.

[143] When a dissection was performed on this gentlewoman’s body, all her noble parts⁸ were full of large red abscesses, like large hazelnuts. This was what the milk from her other pregnancies had

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² Bourgeois’s use of a surgeon’s instrument, a lancet or scalpel with a double-edged blade, in treating her own wound suggests, among other things, that her faith in natural remedies had its limits.

⁸ As opposed to the *parties honteuses* or “shameful parts,” “noble parts” refers to the internal organs other than the reproductive organs. While the first edition of the *Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* (1694) merely lists the different parts of the body, the 1798 and 1835 editions are more precise: “The viscera are called *Noble Parts*” (“Les viscères sont appelés *Parties nobles*...”) meaning, “the parts absolutely necessary to life, like the heart, the lungs, the liver, the brain” (“*Parties nobles*, Les viscères, les parties...”)
Selections from Louise Bourgeois, *Various Observations Concerning Sterility, Miscarriages, Fertility, Birthing, and Diseases of Women and Newborn Children* (1626 edition). To be published by the Toronto Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, “The Other Voice in Early Modern Europe” series. Translated by Stephanie O’Hara; Edited by Alison Klairmont Lingo. Please do not reproduce without permission.

left there when it was forced back. If we go back to the origin of the cancer, she would have been healed if, after feeling the irritation on her nipple, she had had someone make a liniment of rose oil and vinegar and then applied the red cabbage leaf which had been softened over the fire, removing the stem and anointing it with *Mel Rosatum* and applying it evening and morning. No pregnant woman or woman in labor should neglect doing this. For although it begins as a minor illness, it can become a serious one, and thus it would be better not to seek advice than to ignore advice after asking for it. I had indeed told her about the above remedies, but she did not want to do anything until it was too late. [...]

**Selection 3** [from Book 1, Ch. XLVI]

[...] I would add here that in some women, children sometimes turn in the womb a long time before birth takes place. Women who have this happen but feel no pain should not have themselves examined. If they do, when they ask the midwife if the child has turned and the midwife says yes but the woman does not give birth, the poor midwife is severely reproached and called ignorant. [210] This is why, knowing what slander can do, a midwife should lie and say no in this case. To tell the truth could have negative consequences, namely that the pregnant woman would walk around a lot, thinking she is ready to give birth, and sit on a hard chair. This would harm the child.

Therefore, I do not conclude that all children turn around in the womb so early but rather that some do so early and others later and others during labor. I myself have been in this state; I can truthfully say that all while working every day as a midwife, for six weeks I carried a child who had turned around in the womb. Those people who say that a child takes no more nourishment once it has turned in the womb do more wrong to themselves than they do to the midwives on whom they heap their abuse. For by saying this, they demonstrate that they do not know how a child is nourished in its mother’s womb. In order to enlighten those who doubt this, I promise them that whenever they [211] please, I will accompany them to the *Hôtel-Dieu*, where there are a number of pregnant women. Accompanied by a physician of the said *Hôtel-Dieu*, I will clear away their doubt by having them touch and recognize the truth, in order to do away with this fallacy blamed on midwives.

**Selection 4** [from Book 2]

The head midwife of the *Hôtel-Dieu* had formerly resided with me, and since I saw that my youngest daughter was resolved to follow my profession, I thought she should see a large number of

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9 The issue of “slander” comes up repeatedly in the text. The subordination of midwives to the medical hierarchy made them increasingly sensitive to slander and its consequences.
10 Here Bourgeois shows her desire to gain the confidence of her readers based on her own personal experience of pregnancy and childbirth.
11 Located near the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, the *Hôtel-Dieu* ("God’s Hostel") in Paris was originally founded in 651 as a charity hospital. —Trans.
12 Bourgeois reinforces her claim to authority based on the value and truth of empirical reality: she believes the “truth” can be touched and recognized.
13 In the thirteenth century a maternity ward was created at the *Hôtel-Dieu*, after which, in 1378, the hospital records note a “ventrière des accouchiez” (midwife). In 1515 François I decreed that the hospital function as an asylum for destitute sick children, pregnant women and for those with contagious diseases. To help protect the women seeking asylum, the hospital separated its maternity ward from the rest of the hospital. According to an eighteenth-century account written by a police lieutenant and quoted by Henriette Carrier, the hospital welcomed “young, poor, single, and pregnant women,” who were “respectable” and “from good families experiencing economic difficulties,” as well as women “who
women give birth, in a short time. This would strengthen her resolve and accustom her to the range of different kinds of deliveries. [73] I asked this midwife, as well as the nun in charge of the women who have delivered, and who is a friend of mine, to send for my daughter when women were giving birth in the daytime. She went there from time to time over the course of six or seven months and saw a large number of women give birth. She herself delivered more than fifty women before turning sixteen.

The midwife I mentioned did everything she could for my daughter; indeed, if something unusual happened, she took care to show it to her. Among other things, a poor woman sick with fever gave birth to a small boy, not knowing that she was pregnant. The midwife did an emergency baptism of the boy on the spot. When he was born, he did not seem more than three and a half months old, or four at most. After delivering his mother of the afterbirth, when they saw that he was a living child he was taken to be baptized by a priest. [74] The midwife assured me that he had made a small cry. The surgeon was his godfather, and named him Charles. Afterwards, the midwife wrapped him in warm cloths and brought him to show to my daughter. He stayed with us for about an hour or more, and was taken back to the Hôtel-Dieu, still living.

This shows how much more full of life some children are than others. This is what I have said, that there are children who die as soon as they are born, as some fish do as soon as they are out of the water. And other children seem unlikely to survive because they are born pre-term, and nevertheless do not die quickly. This is according to whether they are more full of life than others.

wished to hide from their husbands, some of whom were violent” (trans. Alison Klairmont Lingo). Henriette Carrier, *Origines de la maternité de Paris* (Paris: G. Steinheil, 1888), 3-5, 53-55.

14 Until 1630 in France, it was difficult for women to obtain midwifery training and then only at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, where only four women at a time could apprentice for a three-month period. Bourgeois’s personal relationships with the head midwife and the nun in charge of the maternity ward made it possible for her to arrange for her daughter to have a hands-on learning experience. Although the midwifery regulations—*Statuts et règlements* of 1560—that were reissued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries stipulated that the surgeons provide a yearly anatomy lesson to the midwives, there is no evidence that this lesson was ever offered or given, except possibly at the Hôtel-Dieu. See Auguste Corlœuf, *L’ancienne faculté de médecine de Paris* (Paris: Delahaye, 1877), 192. Because surgeons were rarely privy to anatomy lessons themselves, they would have been hard-pressed to teach midwives. See Charles Coury, *L’enseignement de la médecine en France des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Expansion Scientifique Française, 1968), 69-75. For a later period McTavish mentions that “[t]here is evidence that the surgeons of Saint-Côme were continually reluctant to instruct women in anatomy, failing to notify senior midwives on those occasions when a female body was being dissected. After losing a legal suit launched by juried female midwives in 1732, Saint-Côme [the surgeon’s guild] was ordered to admit female midwifery students to anatomical demonstrations. The surgeons apparently refused to comply.” McTavish, *Childbirth and the Display of Authority*, 86.

15 These passages reflect the importance attributed to baptism in this era and to the midwife’s ability to perform an emergency baptism, in cases where the survival of the infant was in doubt. After the delivery of the placenta and subsequent to the determination that the child was still alive, a priest performed an official baptism.
MY Lecteur, c'est enfant de mon esprit, creature des merites de la plus grande Royne que le ciel ait fait naître, ne s'estelle point à tes yeux pour se faire admirer en la vanité de son langage, comme font plusieurs de ce temps. Il te dit pour vnde ses maximes veritables qu'il n'a point le secret d'une Ariadne pour te conduire avec plaisir doucement tromper, parmy les couleurs d'un labirintinthe de paroles. Aultre ne luy ay-ie donné pour tout fier que la verité, pour raison que l'experience, ny pour te prenmoins que tout nostre serxe, qui ressemblent en soi-meme ce que j'en ecray ne dementera jamais ma plume. C'est pourquoi le franchy affreusement les barrières de toute apprehension & l'expose â toutes les bourlourques que l'ennemie de la mediñance, et capitale enne-

moc de toutes loiables actions, pourroit souffler à l'encontre, m'assurant que ayant s'appeller tes sens en la consideration de ce sujet, tu loueras mon delaine & adouciras aucunes moy que ce n'est point un desir de me mettre en mire à l'admiration, mais pour te faire voir que doucement forsee par l'inclination de mon naturel, qui est de rendre service à un chacun, je me fis laide vaincre à la prié de mes yeux & de mes oreilles. La naillance de ce livre échantillon de ma practice, est une école où la Medecine marie à l'industrie de la sage femme apprend à un chacun les admirables effets de sa divinité. Les receptes qui ont fait des heureux succés ont tire leur destination, & ne s'escoute parmi le monde que pour l'assistance des personnes à qui, ou la fortune, ou l'occasion demeura la presence du Medecin ne defait de l'addicier dammage, ie te supplie (A ny Lecteur) te tournier qu'une femme pour servir à toutes les autres, te represente comme en un mirroirier, choques ou il y a autant de vertu qu'il y a peu d'artifices en son discours, lequel elle te suffit recevoir avec autant d'affection qu'elle desire que tous ceux qui s'en feront
puissent dire. Dans un jardin d'un arbre sans arbre
eslabonné, j'ai rencontré la fleur précieuse de ma
santé, te suppliant de rechercher de prendre en
bonne part les truits de cette première
impression qu'il m'a fallu cueillir avant le
temps de leur maturité, & en précipiter le
gout auparavant que l'occasion & les em-
pechemens qui me fournissent d'ordinaire,
m'ayant donné le loisir d'en faire l'eslay,
tant autant pour satisfaire à l'importunité de
l'Imprimeur, que pour fermer la bouche
au meudranq qui balance ma capacité au
poids de ton jugement, te promettant en
une seconde impression, si tu l'as à gré, de
reparer le defaut par un recueil moins pre-
cipité. Adieu.

A LA ROYNE.
SONNET.

ROYNE qui n'eust jamais en vertu sa pareille,
Non plus que ce grand Ray, son pareil en valeur,
Ne s'est exercé avec pour flattier vos oreilles,
En laisse le soin à quelque grand auteur.

L'argument de ce livre, ou mon esprit s'est émue,
Prend son estre de vous, comme mon humeur,
Puis que son esprit s'est touché à merveille,
Du Soleil qui nous suit, par vaurin bonheur.

Tellement que de la nature,
Se doit dire estre à vous, comme à la créature,
Qui aussi repart le sang de France:

Cet humble Pimpin, sous nous donnez des filles,
On plustost des amours & des graces gentilles,
Et ce grand Ray des Mecs comme un Daculien.
OBSERVATIONS

nairément il le caille. L'autre adou-
cit autan ou plus, sans les autres pro-
priétés que j'ay dites.

Des remèdes differens pour faire perdre
le lait et aux femmes, & des autres es-
feets qu'ils ont, outre cela, là de lui
faire perdre le lait.

CHAP. XXIII.

L'Ereprenteray icy tous les reme-
des propres à faire perdre le lait,
à celle fin que chacune qui a vn re-
mede particulier, voy à l'effet de so
remede: d'autant que tous remèdes
ne sont pas propres. Il y a beaucoup
de gardes d'accouchées à Paris, les-
quelles n'ont qu'un remède qu'elles
appliquent à toutes sortes de fémi-
nes, comme vne fellè à tous che-
vaux, qui est vne chose fort mal à
propos, & dequoy il arrive grands
accidents à coup, & à la longue, com-

DIVERSES.

me je feray cognoiître, deduisant la
propriété des remèdes, elles ont vne
maxime de ne point reueller leur re-
mede, & tiennent cela pour un grand
secret, tellement que la plupart ne
sçauent ce qu'elles font, & qui pis
est, ne le veulent pas apprendre, di-
stant qu'il n'y a remède qui vaille le
leur. Si vne sage-femme s'en informe,
aussi tost qu'elle est sortie, se met-
tront à la despescher, & dire que ce
n'est pas soit estat, que chacun doit
faire la charge, qu'vn femme estant
accouchée, la sage-femme n'y a plus
que faire, ie les prieray de croire qu'il
saut sçauoir que c'est que d'être bô-
ne garde, avant que de paruenir à
estre la moindre sage femme, &
pour preuie de mon dire, cela se
trouvera dans les lettres de la rece-
ption des sages femmes.

J'ay souvent veu appliquer d'une
eau laquelle on fait venir d'Angers,
Observations

qui est fort propre à faire cuader le laict, & n'ay jamais veu arriuer d'accidens aux mammelles de celles qui s'en sont seruies: tout ce que j'ay trouve d'incommode à ce remède, c'est qu'il faut descouvrir les retins deux fois le jour, pour ayant fait tierdir de peau, y mouiller des linges & mettre dessus, & que l'on tiet que les mouillèmes amollissent & rident la peau, les simples dont elle est faicte, les vns sont chauds, & les autres froids, tellement que l'eau est fort temperée, & cause de quoi se peut appliquer sans danger, à toutes sortes de naturels.

Il faut prêdre de la fauge franche, peruanche, ache & cigue, & selon qu'elle peut rendre de luc, en mettre autàr d'une que d'autre, puis la diluer à la chappelle, elle faicte en an.

J'ay vn remède duquel j'aye volontiers à cause qu'il est aussi répéré, & ne peut mal faire, au contraire est de

demeurée.

grand effet. C'est qu'il faut prêdre vn quartero de cire neufue, vn quarteron de gros miel commun, vn oncce d'huile rafar, vn oncce de beurre frais, ius de fauge, & ius de cerfeuil, & en faire vn vingt, lequel doit estre estendu sur des ronds de fin chamyre, proprement picquez, puis quand l'on les veut mettre, faire vn embrocation d'huile rafar & de vinaigre sur les mamelles, & chaude-ment y appliquer les ronds, recouverts de linges chauds, & ne les descouvrir de huit jours, si ce n'est qu'ils ne fussent rendoubles, y mettant vn lingage chaud, cependant que l'on les estendra refaisant vn autre embrocation, l'on les doit remettre achetant la huitaine.

Il est bien dangereux à des femmes de commencer en couche d'ester nourries, & puis leur enfant leur ayant escorche le bour du tetin, ou
n'en pouvri ôter la peine de quitter, car l'enfant ayant commençé à tirer, fait une grande attraction, qui cause souvent une apophtume aux mammelles des femmes en divers lieux, pour à quoi obvier, si tost que elles auront résolu de n'être plus nourries, il faut qu'elles se fassent faire une embrocation d'huile roïset vinagre sur le sein, et avoir une fucose de choux rouge, où les cotonnes feront bien couper, et la forêt amortir sur le feu, puis l'endorer fort de miel roisat, et de deux fois le jour faire de mesme, il fausse que vous portez de bonne heure de ce remède, encore qu'il y eût rougeur ou dureté, qu'il ne boutit ne sera pas. Et si d'ausée l'on a négligé les remèdes en temps et lieu, ce remède de la n'étant satisfaisant, il faut prendre de l'aigremoine, mauves & guim auces, du lancéon, et mettre cuire tout d'un pot neuf en eau,

sant qu'il soit comme une cataplasme, puis y mettre demi quartier de graisse de poireau malle, avec autant de beure de May, et le faire coucher, avec cela l'endre tout chaud sur des estoups, et y en mettre deux fois le jour, et couvrir par-dessus les estoups de linges fort chauds, dans trois jours il sera résolu, ou prêt à percer, c'est le meilleur remède qu'il est possible, je l'ai expérimenté devant qu'il est de certes état, fort moy, ayant eu une grande contusion à un rein, je fus quitte de mon mal, tant pour venir à suppuration que pour l'empêcher en dix jours, moyennant ledit cataplasme: à la vérité il y a mieux de laisser donner un coup de lance, que de laisser revoir l'apophtume.

Pour l'vnquent, dont les femmes qui one la mammelle apophtumée doivent y ser, sans le changer jusques.
À entière guérisson, laquelle sera peu de temps, moyennant iceluy. Prenez demie liure de lard, & le faiçes fondre, vn quarteron de chineufue, deux onces de poix rainle, & de tout ensemble, faiçes vnguent, duquel vous ferez emplâtre lors que le tetin sera percé, & aurez vne rente ou plumaceau, auquel vous metrez dudit vnguent, & en chagerez deux fois la jour & jusqu'à entière guérisson.

Vne partie des gardes sont certains ronds, piquez aillez grossièrement, d'as lesquels elles mettret auce vn peu de cotton, de la poudre de fauge, de liege, de gros sel, de la poudre de mirtil. Aux femmes qui ont le poulmon frele, & subie à recevoir des fluxions, cela est fort dangereux, pour que il effauffe la partie, le tetin est si proche du poulmon, qu'au moindre froid ou chaud qu'il

reçoit, il lui communique: il y a vn autre mal, qui est que cela est dur, qui froisse le tetin, qui est vne chose presque irreparable, ainsi que je l'ay veu arriver, à mon grand regret, à vne honorable damoiselle, à laquelle la garde mit ce remede, qui comme j'ay dit, luy froissa le tetin, le mal ne fut au commencement gros que comme vne petite faurolle & rouge, lequel pour aucun remede ne peut etre offet, l'ayant au commencement negligence: elle a accouché trois fois depuis, & enore que l'on eut chagé le remede, l'origine du mal demeurait toujours, accroitait plusost que de diminuer, & pendant la derniere grossesse il gaigna tout fon coiffe, & parut Cancer tres-malin, ayant elle veue et traitée de bons Medecins, & voyant qu'elle ne guerissoit, elle se mit entre les mains d'un Charlatan qui luy promit de la guerir si
Observations
tost qu'elle seroit accouchée: & ce-
pendant luy promit d'empescher le
mal d'accroître: & sous cette esperá-
ce tiroit toujours de l'argent, luy
mettant du charpy en croix, il disoit
tout bas quelques paroles: le com-
pagnon lauoit bien que si tost que
le laict monteroit aux mammales;
elle mourroit (comme elle fit) d'au-
rant que le mal auoit atteint son pe-
riode, & qu'il y auoit plus de trois
mois qu'elle ne dormoit point. La
bonne damoiselle a toujours soulevé
nu que son mal venoit de la contu-
sion que luy fit le remede que la gar-
de luy appliqua, ie say bien que le
Cancer arrive par d'autres causes;
comme par des humeurs malignes,
mais aussi fait à la plus-part par froi-
sure, comme de ferrer son fein, le
coucher deflus, d'un boutte, de quel-
que coup donné par mesgarde à
quoy l'on negligera de remedier.

La Damoiselle dont i'ay parlé eftat
ouverte, l'on trouua toutes les par-
ties nobles pleines de gros bubons
rouges, ains que de grosses auelines,
qui eftoit ce que le laict de les cou-
ches precedentes faisat la reuillon
y auoit porté: Retournat d'où eftoit
l'origine du cancer, fi à l'instant que
elle fentit la froissure à son retin, elle
euf fait faire vne embrocati d'huile
rofat, & de vin aigre, puis appli-
quen auyel de choux rouge armortic
sur le feu, ayant oit elles cottos, &
la yant oincte de miel rofat, conti-
nuant foir & matin elle euf guery.
C'est qu'vn feme grosse ny en cou-
che ne doit rié negliacer. Car d'vn pe-
til mal ils en font vn bien grad, & si il
vaudroit mieux n'appeller pas du
conseil, que l'ayant appellé ne le pas
fuyure, ie luy auois bien dit les susdits
remedez: mais elle n'en vouloit rien
faire que tout ne fust deploré.
diperses. 109

sant estoit blessé dans son corps, que s'il y avoit quelque chose de rompu qu'il paroistroit ou s'il y avoit confusion qu'essant devenu noir elle deuendroit jaune, & seroit long temps ainsi, qui seroit un moyen de le faire punir: ie procuray si bié pour cest homme que ie ne vey iamais, qu'elle ecloua deux mois huit jours au liet, au bout de quels elle accoucha d'un fils qui veult deux ou trois mois, & le fermier sortit sans estre puny que par la bourse: Je diray a ce propos que les enfants se tournent quelquefois long-temps à quelques femmes avant que d'accoucher, & si elles ne sentent douleur, elles ne sont pas y regarder, & que le faillant aussi, si la femme demande à la sage femme si l'enfant est tourné, & qu'elle die qu'ouy & qu'elle n'ac-
couche, la pauvre sage femme est basouée, & appelee ignorante, o iij

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tellement que cognoissant ce qui est peut arriver de la medissance, il faut qu'elle mente & dite que non, & la consequence du mal qu'il y a à en dire la verité, est que les femmes marchants beaucoup, & s'assoyant sur siege dur, blessent leurs enfants, tellement que je ne conclus pas que tous les enfants se tournent de si bonne heure, ains les uns tost & les autres tard, & les autres pendant le travail, moy qui suis de l'estat, ie diray a ce verité en avoir poré vn tourne six semaines, faissant tous les jours ma vacation. Ceux qui diront qu'un enfant ne prend plus de nourriture dépui qu'il est tourné, le font plus de tort qu'aux fages-femmes, fur les-quelles ils drappent, car ils monstrer ne sauroy par quel moyen l'enfant est nourry au ventre de la mere, & pour en esclairez ceux qui en doub-teront, ie leur prouer que quand il
leur plairaie les accompagneray à l'hôtel Dieu, où il y a nombre de femmes grosses, & accompagnés du Medecin dudit Hôtel-Dieu, le leur leureray le doute, leur faisions toucher & reconnaître la vérité, afin d'assoupir cette surpise que l'on pense faire sur les sages-femmes.

D'un enfant à qui je trouvoys le nombril noyé à droit naud, tenant d'un bout au ventre de l'enfant, & de l'autre à l'arrière-saix.

Chap. XLVII.

L'Accouchay il y a trois ou quatre ans une honnesté femme, laquelle le auparavant que d'accoucheuse auoit eu des coliques estranges, & auoit treuuy son enfant fort foible, deux jours avant que d'accoucher: ce que estant, le nombril se treuua noyé au
OBSERVATIONS.

nens: je priay donc la sage-femme
dudit lieu, & la religieuse qui est Da-
me des accouchees, qui est d'nes
amies, de l'envoyer aduertir lors que
de jour il accoucheroit des femmes,
elle y a esté de fois à d'autres six ou
sept mois, elle en a veu accoucher
grand nombre, & en a accouché
plus de cinquante avant que d'auoir
quinze ans accomplis, ladite sage-
femme y a apporté toute ce qu'elle a
 peu, & mene s'il s'y trouve quel-
que chose d'étrange, elle le loing
de luy faire voir. Entre autre chose,
vne pauvre femme malade de fièvre
y accoucha, d'un petit garçon sans
penser estre grosse, lequel fut on-
doyé par la sage-femme, il ne paroif-
sait pas estre de plus de trois mois
& demy ou de quatre à toute extre-
mité, lors que l'on le vit vire, aprés
auroir deliuré sa mere du restè, l'on
le porta sur les fonds recevoir le Bap-

OBSERVATIONS.

tême, où elle m'austera qu'il auroit
fait vn petit cry, & fut nommé Char-
les par le Chirurgien. Apres elle l'en-
veloppa de petits linges chauds &
l'apporta mostrer à ma fille, il de-
meuront bien une heure ou plus chez
nous, & fut remporté encore vivant,
 cela monstre bien qu'il y a des en-
fants beaucoup plus plaine de vie les
vns que les autres. C'est ce que j'en ay
dir, qu'il y en a que si tost qu'ils sont
naix meurent, comme sont certaines
poisson si tost qu'ils sont hors de
l'eau: Et d'autres qu'il n'y a point d'a-
parence qu'ils puissent viure estans
trop basterme, & neantmoins ont
grand peine à mourir, c'est selon
qu'ils sont plus de vie les vns plus
que les autres.

DES MALADIES DE LA
Matrice, & par combien de forces elles
tranaille le sexe feminin, & des reme-
des.
[f. 7v-9]: The Great Palsy Water & Lavendar Cordial
The great palsy water, wh also is of exceeding vertue in all soundings, weaknesse of the [drawn pic of a heart] & decaying of the spirits & ye best remedy in all apoplexy, palsy, epilepsy both to help in the fitt & to prevente it, also in all pains of the joints coming of cold, in all bruises outwardly bathed or diped clothes in it & laid to it, It strigtneth and comforst all animals vital & natural spirits [clearleth] ye external senses, strengthneth the memory, restores lost appetite, all weaknesse of the stomake both taken inwardly and bathed outwardly. It taks away gidenesse of the head & helps lost memory, brings a pleasant breath, it helps ye lost speech & all cold dispositions of the liver & a beginning dropse, it helps all cold diseases of the mother. Take of it a quarter of a spoonful & faste 2 hours after it, but for the prevention of such diseases, you take [f.8] morning & evening a quarter of a spoonful with [cames?] of bread & suggar. The Excellency of this water is Inexpresseable.

Take of lavendar flowrs, strped from their stalkes & fill with them a large gallon glasse, & pour on them of every good spirit of wine or aqua vita distilled from ale flegme, then circulat them for 6 weeks, very close stoped & clad with a bladder & see nothing may breath out. Let them stand in a warm place then destill them in a Limbeck still which is cooler. Then put the said water of sage flowrs, rosemary flowers, Betany flowrs, of each half a handful, borage flowers, Buglossflowrs, ye flowers of [lilium convallium??], cowslip flowrs of each a handful steep these flors in good malmsye or good Aquavita. I doe steep every flowr & herb in good spirit of wine, every one in his pason, till all may be had then put them all, being soundly digested, together, put also to them of balme, mother wort spikeflowrs, bay leaves, ye leaves of oranges soe they may be had and the flors of each 1. 0. cut all small & put them together & destill them as before, being steeped the space of 6 weeks, then put in this destilled water Citron [pecks?] drawed ye yellowpill or else of a lemon & peony seeds hulled of each 6 drahmes. [f.8v] Cinnamon half an 0. of yellow [sande?] half an 0. Ligni Aloes 2 drahmes, make all this in powder & put them in the abovesaid destilled water, & put to them [lusubee?] new & good ½ ff[tt?] then take the stones beforehand cut them small, close your vessel well with a double bladder, let them digest 6 weeks, then straine this hard with a presse & filtrate the liquor & put in this liquor prepare pearls 2 drahmes, prepared [smaragd?] 1 scrupule, ambergris e musk, saffron, of each ½ scrupule, red roses dryed well & sweet smelling, red & yellow [sanders?] of each 1 0. hang these in a safenet bag in the water well closed that nothing breath out.

"An other water of the same of lesse price and [chatye?] Take a gallon glasse fill it with lavendar flowrs as above fill it up with spirit of wine or malmsye, this digest 6 weeks, then distill your water & oyle, separate your oyle, then digest in ye water sage flowrs, rosemary flowrs, sweet margorama of each 1 handfull, ysop motherwort peony roots, briganum of each 1 0. peony seeds hulled, cardamom, cubebis citron pills, dryed of each 2 drahmes, beat them digest them then put in them ½ ff[tt?] of [lusubees] ye stones taken out or raisons of ye sun, stoned, being digested 6 weeks, straine this, drink this with beer or ale at your need."
HISTORIE OF PLANTS.

There be two sorts of garden Time among the old writers; the latter Herbarists have found more.

1. **Thymus durum.**
   - **Hard Time.**

2. **Thymus luculentus.**
   - **Greest or broad-leaved Time.**

---

**The description.**

1. The first kind of Time is so well known, that it needeth no description, because there is not any which are ignorant what **Thymus durum** is, I mean our common Garden Time.

2. The second kind of Time with broad leaves, hath many woodlike branches rising from the thistle root, besept with leaves like Myrtum. The flowers are far in rendles about the stalks like Horeaboas. The whole plant is like the common Time in talle and fruitle.

3. Time of Candia is in all respects like unto common Time, but different in that, that this kind hath certain knoppe nuds like unto the small ears of Phalaris, and not much unlike the fishe or knops of **Stokesia**; but much better, beset with slender flowers of a purple colour. The whole plant is of a more pointick and gruiseous fishe then any of the Times, and of another kind of talle, as it were flowering like fishe. The root is brittle and of a woodies substanse.

4. Doublely that kind of Time whereon **Epithymon** doth growe, (and is called for catte **Epithymon**, and vfe in floppes,) is nothing else then Dodder that groweth upon Times; and is all one with ours, though **Meditim** makes a considerable difference thereof; for Fenestrelling over the hills in Narbouse near the sea, hath some not only the garden Time, but the whole Time.

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**The plants.**

1. **Thymus durum.**
   - **Time of Candia.**

2. **Epithymon Orestorum.**
   - **Laced Time.**

They both are hot and dry in the third degree.

The hollie is used in water and house and drunk in a glass against the cough and stomach of the; and is also used both in a cold and a hot state, and the cold children and children of both sexes.

The same boiled with the general fitchie purges, and boiled in Meade or Musterlin, the lau and tangle, and might be and filleth womes.

Made into powder and taken in the weight of three grains with Meade or Hollied vinegar, called C. Oximely.

The kindes.

The doctres that gave so many rules for the knowledge of simples, hath left Hyssope altogether without description, as being a plant so well known, that it needed none: whose example I follow not only in this plant, but in many others which be common, to avoid tediousness to the reader.

The second kind of Hyssope is like the former, which is our common Hyssope, and differeth in that, that this Hyssope hath his small and tender branches decked with faire red flowers.
HISTORIE OF PLANTS.

Hyllope

Hyllope, with reddish flowers.

Hyllope, with white flowers.

Hyllope semisiliqua.

Thick-leaved Hyllope.

The description.

3 Hyllope alba fioribus.
White floured Hyllope.

All the kindes of Hyllope do growe in my garde, and in some others also.

They flower from June, to the end of August.

The names.

Hyllope is called in Linneus Hyllope: the which name is likewise retained among the Germans, Frenchmen, Italian, and Spaniards. Therefore that shall suffice, which hath beene set downe in their genera

The temperaturs and vertices.

A decoction of Hyllope made with figs, and gargled in the mouth and throat, opens the mouth and throat, and easeth the difficulty of swallowing, conning by cold theatums.

The fume made with figs, water, honey, and sugar, heltheth the inflammation of the lungs, and other cough, and flowes of breath, and the obstructions or stoppings of the breath.

The fume or juice of Hyllope taken with the fume of vinegar, purgeth by flood, and heltheth the generall.

The distilled water drunk, is good for those diseases before named, but not with that speed, and D.


Hyllope, with reddish flowers.

Hyllope, with white flowers.

The description.

3. Hyllope.

Hyllope, with white flowers.

Hyllope, with reddish flowers.

Hyllope, with small flowers.

The name.

Hyllope is called in Latinus Hyllope: the which name is likewise retained among the Germans, Frenchmen, Italian, and Spaniards. Therefore that shall suffice, which hath been set downe in their genera.

The temperaturs and vertices.

A decoction of Hyllope made with figs, and gargled in the mouth and throat, opens the mouth and throat, and easeth the difficulty of swallowing, conning by cold theatums.

The fume made with figs, water, honey, and sugar, heltheth the inflammation of the lungs, and other cough, and flowes of breath, and the obstructions or stoppings of the breath.

The distilled water drunk, is good for those diseases before named, but not with that speed, and D.

The Diseases and Casualties this Week.

London 35

From the 15 of August to the 22.

1665

The Affix of Bread set forth by order of the Lord Mayor and Coupes of Aldermen, A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

THE SAME BILL OF MORTALITY. (REVERSE)

A LONDON BILL OF MORTALITY. (OVERSE)

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Increased in the Burials this Week 249

Parishes clear of the Plague 27

Parishes Infected 103

The Age of Bread set forth by order of the Lord Mayor and Coupes of Aldermen, A penny Wheaten Loaf to contain Nine Ounces and a half, and three half-penny White Loaves the like weight.

THE SAME BILL OF MORTALITY. (REVERSE)

A LONDON BILL OF MORTALITY. (OVERSE)
Historians of science have often viewed the Scientific Revolution as reaching a culminating phase in England, in Francis Bacon's reformation of philosophy, in the institutionalization of natural philosophy in the Royal Society, and in Isaac Newton's new synthesis of terrestrial and celestial physics. It goes without saying that these are crucial points in the development of modern science, but this book has argued that if we look outside England to the Continent, and if we look outside the traditional natural philosophical disciplines of astronomy and the physics of motion, a new panorama opens onto the history of the development of modern science. Artisans in workshops from Florence to Flanders to Prague and Nuremberg become the founders, the basis, of the reform of philosophy. And the laboratories of practitioners and merchants along the canals of Amsterdam and the medical faculty of Leiden become just two of the places where the new practices and new attitudes toward nature of the experimental philosophy were disseminated and inculcated.

This book argues for a much broader view of the Scientific Revolution, broader in terms of its practitioners, its places, and its practices. It argues, too, for an understanding of the processes of making knowledge as social in the early modern global world. The production of knowledge should be seen as the result of group activity in early modern Europe, whether in workshops, as a result of bureaucratic structures, or of commercial ventures. Discussions of artistic and scientific innovation have traditionally focused on the individual: the artistic genius or the lone scientist. This elevation of the individual genius to center stage, in part a legacy of the social striving by Renaissance artists that I have discussed in this book, has often formed the core of a narrative of modernity and progress. Recent scholarship in the areas of distributed cognition and indigenous or vernacular knowledge systems, however, has begun to portray the production of knowledge as the result of a complex and locally situated relationship among many individuals and groups at different levels of society. While Thomas Kuhn's paradigms and Michel Foucault's discourse analysis have focused historians' attention on group practices and the construction of knowledge as a social process, the tension between the social context and individual agency has remained a source of debate, especially in the history of art. In answer to this dilemma, anthropologists and cognitive scientists suggest that knowledge be studied and understood "in practice," as "inherent in the growth and transformation of identities and . . . located in relations among practitioners, their practice, the artifacts of that practice, and the social organization and political economy of communities of practice." The story of local modes of cognition and the vernacular knowledge systems such as those of the "old women" and "herbalists" mentioned by almost every early modern botanist as the

basis of his specimens and local plant knowledge has yet to be written. Such a history would connect local knowledge and histories to overarching developments, such as the emergence of modern science. I have attempted to contribute to such a history and to partially answer the question of how local ways of knowing, such as, for example, those embodied in workshop practices, became the transcendent, universal knowledge of science. The conventional narrative of the emergence of modern science still often relegates group practices such as the nature studies of an artisanal workshop (or, for example, the knowledge of intercropping in Third World agriculture or vernacular taxonomic systems) to the realm of "rote practice" and the "traditional." This book has striven to point up the shared and collective nature of knowledge making—the interaction between different modes of cognition and people of different social strata—and has sought to delineate the outlines of a new narrative of knowledge production and of human creativity.